

# **Girls' Sexualities and the Media**

EDITED BY Kate Harper, Yasmina Katsulis,  
Vera Lopez, & Georganne Scheiner Gillis



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New York • Washington, D.C./Baltimore • Bern  
Frankfurt • Berlin • Brussels • Vienna • Oxford

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Girls' sexualities and the media / edited by  
Kate Harper, Yasmina Katsulis, Vera Lopez, Georganne Scheiner Gillis.  
pages cm. — (Mediated youth; vol. 23)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Girls—Sexual behavior—United States—History.

2. Mass media—United States—History. I. Harper, Kate.

HQ27.5.G57 306.760835—dc23 2013005251

ISBN 978-1-4331-2276-7 (hardcover)

ISBN 978-1-4331-2275-0 (paperback)

ISBN 978-1-4539-1091-7 (e-book)

ISSN 1555-1814

Bibliographic information published by **Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**.

**Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the "Deutsche Nationalbibliografie"; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de/>.

Cover artwork: Joel Deal

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council of Library Resources.



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29 Broadway, 18th floor, New York, NY 10006  
[www.peterlang.com](http://www.peterlang.com)

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Printed in the United States of America

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## “Chongas” in the Media: The Ethno-Sexual Politics of Latina Girls’ Hypervisibility

*Jillian Hernandez*

Often described by Latin@s in South Florida as a low-class, slutty, tough, and crass young woman, the hypervisible figure disparagingly labeled as a “chonga” is practically invisible in queer theory, media studies, and feminist scholarship. Representations of chonga girls such as the widely viewed YouTube video “Chongalicious” mock young Latina women who don tight clothing, heavy lip liner, and large hoop earrings. In this chapter I examine the sexual politics of visual representations of chongas across media such as contemporary art, YouTube, and print/broadcast outlets. How do the varying forms of production, circulation, and reception that attend these media produce and reflect discourses about Latina girls’ sexuality? How does the chonga come to signify and embody tropes regarding Latina girls’ hypersexuality?

I take an expansive approach to selecting the images under consideration in this chapter, as I analyze visual media that mobilize the term “chonga” in addition to works that do not, yet whose subjects fit the discursive framework of the figure via sartorial style. I will conduct visual analyses of the YouTube video *Chongalicious*, artist Luis Gispert’s *Cheerleaders* photographs, and images of chongas in broadcast and print media such as the Latin television network Univision. My arguments will also be based on a questionnaire regarding chongas that I administered to South Florida residents in 2008. The questionnaire responses illustrate the meanings associated with chonga identity and reflect the discursive field in which images of these young women circulate. The chonga images and questionnaire responses inform each other, as there is a recursive relationship between social discourse and visual production. This two-pronged methodology

aims to provide the reader with a context for situating the chonga figure that is just emerging in scholarship.

I claim that the non-normative “sexual-aesthetic excesses” of chonga bodies signify a queer politics that undermines sexual policing and conveys indifference toward portraying an assimilated white bourgeois subjectivity. Akin to a camp Butlerian parody, the chonga girl’s denaturalized visibility is a citation of gender, class, and racial/ethnic signifiers, from her faux-gold jewelry, gelled-straight hair, and synthetic nails to the imitation designer clothes she buys at the flea market. I offer sexual-aesthetic excess as a concept in order to theorize modes of dress and comportment that are often considered “too much”: too ethnic, too sexy, too young, too cheap, too loud.

### Excessive Presence: Latina Bodies in Visual Culture

The images of chongas and chonga-esque women I will discuss in what follows stem from the history and politics of representation of Latina bodies in the U.S. context. Filmmaker and scholar Celine Parreñas Shimizu notes the critical role visual representations play in organizing social relations in the United States in her statement, “The stakes are indeed high—the bodies of women, people of color, and sexual minorities signify reproductive futures and new morphologies of the family and American national identity.”<sup>1</sup> Latin@ cultural and communications studies scholars also focus on visual representations due to the material ramifications of the biopolitics Shimizu identifies.<sup>2</sup> They demonstrate how representations of Latinas structure social relations in the United States by fashioning an exotic, “tropicalized” other in response to ongoing panic over Latina reproduction and immigration.<sup>3</sup> Most literature, however, analyzes images of Latina celebrities such as Celia Cruz, Jennifer Lopez, and Salma Hayek. This article advances scholarship on representations of Latina bodies in visual culture by interrogating the vernacular figure of the chonga, who is not represented by a well-known actress or music performer. The chonga figure warrants examination as it is an emerging “icon” that is producing and circulating discourses about Latina young women.<sup>4</sup>

Communications scholar Isabel Molina Guzman (2007) has shown how Latinas are often portrayed as “disorderly bodies” that are emotionally and sexually excessive. In “Disorderly Bodies and Discourses of Latinidad in the Elian Gonzalez Story,” she describes the “visual excess” that marked the news coverage of Marisleydis Gonzalez, the aunt of Elian Gonzalez, a young Cuban boy who was at the center of a high profile immigration and custody case in 2000. Guzman notes how the “excesses” the media focused on, such as Marisleydis’s public crying, long acrylic finger nails, and form-fitting clothes marked her as a brown, unlawful body that did not fit the framework of a “proper” U.S. subject.

The mobilization of Marisleysis's excessive body discursively unraveled the privileged, model minority status of Cuban Americans and helped to frame them as "bad," disorderly subjects who held impassioned demonstrations on the streets of Miami following the decision to return Elian to Cuba.

The hyperbolic, stereotypical representations of Latinas often found in visual culture are measured against an imagined (white/middle class) construct of U.S. citizenship. Latina bodies are read as out of control and used against the communities they "represent." Many efforts to counter these constructions in Latin@ communities signify the internalization of technologies of discipline that center on policing women's bodies.<sup>5</sup> Are Latina women hoping to embody the "normal" so that they are not confused with those "other" bodies of excess?

As Shimizu states, "To panic about being identified within perversity can too easily lead us to strive toward self-restricting normalcy or the impossible constraints of sexual purity."<sup>6</sup> I focus on the *sexual-aesthetic excess* that marks the over-adorned chonga body and propose that rather than critique visual representations of these young women for reproducing negative stereotypes, we read them as indexing ethnic pride, personal confidence, and non-normative or queer sexuality. Subjects who embody sexual-aesthetic excess in their style and behavior are often the targets of discipline by institutions and sexist, racist, classist individuals who are threatened by difference, radical creativity, and sexual agency. Those who dress flamboyantly and are not ashamed of being poor, queer, hyperfeminine, and pleasure seeking are often targeted for mockery, state/school intervention, and violence. Aesthetic excesses of style such as heavy makeup are often read as indicators of low-class status and bad taste. This bad taste in turn is routinely framed as indicative of sexual excess, or deviancy. Chongas and other similarly marked bodies such as African American "hoochies" are subject to the cultural dynamics of sexual-aesthetic excess. I posit that sexual-aesthetic excess can function as a cultural agitator by making sexual, gender, and class difference loud and visible in a neoliberal context that seeks docile subjects who lose themselves in the promise of equality.

Sexual-aesthetic excess is akin to Shimizu's concept of the *productive performance of perversity*. In her study *The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian/American Women on Screen and Scene*, she focuses on representations of Asian/American women in pornography, independent/mass-market films, and theater. In describing her theoretical approach Shimizu notes,

Productive perversity involves identifying with "bad" images, or working to establish a different identity along with established sexual images so as to expand racial agendas beyond the need to establish normalcy and standardization. To engage hypersexuality as a politically productive perversity pays attention to the formulations of sexual and

racial identity that critique normative scripts for sexually and racially marginalized subjects.<sup>7</sup>

Like Asian/American women, Latinas have also been subject to hypersexualization in visual media from popular discourses surrounding Jennifer Lopez's ass to more dated representations of voluptuous dancers balancing fruit on their heads.<sup>8</sup>

In the contemporary moment young Latina bodies are being marketed by the culture industry that is driven to profit from the growing population of Latin@s. Media scholar Angharad N. Valdivia demonstrates the need to examine representations of young Latina girls when she points out, "Three elements—census data, a Latina/o cultural boom, and the gendered tweening of popular culture—coalesce to redirect our attention to the location of Latina girls in popular culture."<sup>9</sup> Through engaging with chonga images, I hope to demonstrate the need for a re-evaluation of urban girls' hypersexual representations in order to complicate academic work that aims to "empower" girls of color by disassociating them from harmful stereotypes to the point that their sexual agency becomes effaced and viewed as primarily dictated by males and mainstream culture. My conceptualization of agency here draws from anthropologist Laura Ahearn's definition of it as the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act."<sup>10</sup> Girls' sexuality cannot be divorced from social context, yet it should be recognized that they play various roles in framing the meanings associated with their sexual identities and practices.

**"You Could See Me, You Could Read Me":  
YouTube and the Branding of the Chonga Body**

*Chola*  
*Chusma*  
*Chocho*  
*Chula*  
*Chonga*

These Spanish terms, some emerging in the United States among Latin@s, index female sexuality. Roughly translated, in order, they denote a street girl ("homegirl"), loud/gossipy/lower-class woman, vagina (or "pussy"), "cute chick," and slut/thug girl. Their lexical similarities point to gender and class inscriptions that are articulated and reproduced through everyday speech in Latin communities. Such terms interpellate specifically marked bodies in primarily urban locations (Miami, New York, Los Angeles). To employ the Althusserian (1971) term, women whose dress and behavior are interpreted as sexual and low/working class, are *bailed*, literally (in everyday social interaction, e.g.,

"Oye/Hey mami!") and discursively, as representative of these marginalized or "bad" subjectivities.

Performance theorist Jose Esteban Munoz has described the chusma identity as antithetical to "standards of bourgeois comportment":

Chusmeria is, to a large degree, linked to a stigmatized class identity. Within Cuban culture, for instance, being called *chusma* might be technique for the middle class to distance itself from the working class; it may be a barely veiled racial slur suggesting that one is too black; it sometimes connotes gender nonconformity. In the United States, the epithet *chusma* also connotes recent immigration and a general lack of "Americanness," as well as excessive nationalism—that one is somewhat over the top about her Cubanness. The sexuality of individuals described as *chusmas* is also implicated. The prototypical *chusma's* sexuality is deemed excessive and flagrant—again, subverting conventions.<sup>11</sup> (emphasis in original)

The chonga, a more recent term that appears to have stemmed from the Cuban-American community, is in many ways a younger version of the chusma, or the chusma-as-teenager.

The chonga finds a Chicana counterpart in the chola ("homegirl"). In her essay, "Re-Imagining Chicana Urban Identities in the Public Sphere, Cool Chuca Style," Rosa Linda Fregoso describes the absence of young women interpellated by these terms in feminist scholarship:

Within the Chicana feminist deconstruction of Chicano familial discourse, the figure of the pachuca, chola, or homegirl is inadvertently overlooked as an agent of oppositional practices, despite her notable contribution to the politics of resistance.<sup>12</sup>

I am situating this essay in the critical "chusma" and "chola" theorizations of Munoz and Fregoso, in addition to Shimizu's readings of productive perversity, as they look beyond the negative connotations of racialized sexual subjectivities to uncover progressive politics.

Though no "officialized" definition of the chonga exists, she entered the realm of popular discourse in South Florida through the YouTube video *Chongalicious*, which presents a characterization that has resonated in this community. The work was posted on the site [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) on April 1, 2007 and tallied almost one million views within several months (over five million to date). *Chongalicious* parodied the 2006 song *Fergalicious* by pop music performer Fergie, which likely bolstered its rapid local circulation.

The video was created by Latina teens Mimi Davila and Laura Di Lorenzo, then drama students attending an arts magnet high school in the Aventura area of North Miami-Dade County on a night in which they were hanging out at Davila's house with a friend.<sup>13</sup> The girls neither anticipated nor initially worked toward garnering widespread attention. What would have just been a silly faux music video circulating among a group of friends for laughs now has the poten-

tial of entering popular culture in the era of YouTube. The viral circulation of videos from inbox to inbox and social networking site to social networking site spurs the creation of “everyday” celebrities.

In *Chongalicious* Davila and Di Lorenzo don tight outfits and vigorously move their behinds to electronic beats as they enact the sexual-aesthetic excess of the chonga script. The clothing that serves as their “costumes” consist of a basketball jersey worn as a form-fitting mini-dress, a one-piece spandex short jumper, metallic gold flip flops, and plastic mesh slippers with sequined flowers (worn with white cotton ankle socks). The girls wear large hoop earrings and dark red lipstick. Their hair is wrapped in buns worn high atop their heads and the bottom portion of their hair runs down to their shoulders in waves.

The opening shot of the video is a close-up of the girls’ shaking buttocks; they then turn to face the viewer and begin to perform the *Chongalicious* song with animated hand gestures and simulated thick Latina/o accents. A school-mate recorded the performance in the interior of Davila’s home and outdoors in the housing complex. The work emulates the genre of the music video through the emphasis on the girls’ dancing and montage of varied scenes edited to synchronize with the song. An attempt is made to screen the domestic space, with limited success, by framing the performers against plain white walls. The majority of the shots are close-ups and capture scenes of the girls looking into mirrors while styling their hair and makeup using glue for gel and Sharpie pens for lip liner, flirting with a young man on the street, pushing each other around, and sloppily eating pizza and smearing it over their mouths. These hyperbolic, slapstick parodies serve to convey the chonga’s over-indulgent nature and “excessive” or trashy application of beauty products. The performers speak in the “voice” of chongas and address the viewer/camera with a confrontational attitude throughout the work. This is a sample of the lyrics they perform in unison:

*Chongalicious definition arch my eyebrows high  
 They always starin’ at my booty and my panty line  
 You could see me, you could read me  
 Cuz my name is on my earrings  
 Girls got reasons why they hate me  
 Cuz they boyfriends wanna date me  
 Chongalicious  
 But—I aint promiscuous  
 And if you talkin’ trash, I’ll beat you after class  
 I blow besos—muuuuaah!<sup>14</sup>  
 I use my Sharpie lip line  
 And ain’t no other chonga glue ber hair like mine  
 Chongalicious*

Although they claim not to be promiscuous, the lyrics nevertheless typify chongas as sexualized, antagonistic toward other girls, violent, and hypervisible ("You could see me, you could read me"). In a later segment of the video, the performers make references to the chonga's lower-class status by describing her as "ghetto" and stating that she buys her "bling" at the flea market for \$2.99.<sup>15</sup>

*Chongalicious* crossed over from YouTube to traditional print, radio, and television outlets in South Florida. It was featured in a news segment by the internationally broadcast Spanish-language network Univision and the song the girls performed in the video frequently rotated on Miami's urban music station Power 96. Despite its seeming status as a media-generated "sensation," *Chongalicious* circulated virally via the Myspace and Live Journal pages of locals prior to its intensive media blitz. A host of spin-offs and parodies of the video appeared on YouTube such as *Preppylicious*, *Hoochielicious*, *No More Chongalicious!!!*, and Davila and Di Lorenzo's sequel video *I'm in Love with a Chonga* (the number of hits these videos have attained, in the hundreds of thousands, seem minimal compared with those of *Chongalicious*). The coverage on chongas, particularly in Spanish language media, has persisted since 2007. An episode of the Univision talk show *Cristina* that featured the *Chongalicious* performers aired in January 2009 and in 2011 YouTube users continue to post comments on the video on a regular basis. I will later discuss how reactions to the *Chongalicious* video and the coverage it attracted have ranged from celebration to disgust among South Florida residents.

Production value was added to the do-it-yourself aesthetic of the video in the photographs that appeared in the feature article on *Chongalicious* in Miami's alternative weekly paper *The New Times*. The front cover features Davila and Di Lorenzo wearing matching outfits and significantly more jewelry, makeup, and hair styling products than in the video. The use of a plain background signals that the girls are performing, as they are not embedded in a social context. The bright pink hue of the backdrop further indexes them as gendered and infantile. Their "fake" and "immature" personalities are depicted through exaggerated facial expressions, such as wide-open eyes, and hand gestures that accentuate their long acrylic fingernails. In another photograph, they face the camera as if looking into a mirror and apply makeup while struggling to hold the beauty products that are spilling out of their arms. In *The New Times* story, reporter Tamara Lush joins the girls during trips to the mall and media appearances where they draw attention from passers-by and receive requests for autographs from teenage fans who recognize them as parodic characters.

After receiving a flood of attention from the South Florida community Davila and Di Lorenzo aimed to capitalize on the chonga body by branding it in order to sell themselves as emerging actresses in order to crossover from

YouTube to more lucrative teen and tween venues such as MTV, Disney Channel, and Nickelodeon. In “Branding the Post-Feminist Self: Girls’ Video Production and YouTube,” communications scholar Sarah Banet-Weiser describes how young women’s performances on YouTube often function more as promotional tools than modes of self-expression. Banet-Weiser discusses how often in girls’ homemade videos brands are referenced in order to describe their identities and logos are visible in the background of their rooms. In describing the neoliberal politics that undergird girls’ video production on YouTube Banet-Weiser notes, “The fact that some girls produce media—and thus ostensibly produce themselves through their self-presentation—within the context of a commercially-driven technological space is not only evidence of a kind of empowering self-work but also a way to self-brand in an increasingly ubiquitous brand culture.”<sup>16</sup>

The performers of *Chongalicious* were not attempting to present themselves but rather to embody the chonga trope as a comedic shtick. The attention they garnered, however, prompted them to sell themselves as performers who could reach the sought after market of Latin@ youth. On the website of the talent agency Uno Entertainment there are promotional photographs of the girls, without chonga regalia, marketing them as actresses, comedians, and “YouTube starlets.” The company applies the gendered language of old Hollywood, with its attendant associations of whiteness, to new media production in order to brand the girls as wholesome and potentially lucrative marketing investments. A banner on the Uno Entertainment site reads:

YouTube starlets, actresses, comedians, and writers Mimi Davila and Laura di Lorenzo aka Chonga Girls present their own spin on the news with Chisme News and other stuff, Enjoy!!! With a coast-to-coast fan base of over 8 million 14–24 year olds, Mimi and Laura have an insider’s fluency with urban youth and Hispanic-American culture, and they celebrate and poke fun at their surroundings in a way that brings everyone together.<sup>17</sup>

Here the logic of marketing merges with the logic of neoliberal multiculturalism to make the mockery of urban girls Di Lorenzo and Davila emulate benign and in good taste. Mockery of the chonga body is employed to create a brand and achieve publicity.

Despite their marketing work the performers of the *Chongalicious* video have yet to achieve crossover success. I posit that this stems from the association that has been forged between the performers and everyday chonga girls. The attempts of Uno Entertainment to brand Davila and Di Lorenzo as multi-talented starlets cannot wipe away the ethnic smudge of chonga girl hypersexuality. The makeup that they used to construct the chonga mask seems more difficult to take off than they had imagined; they have been marked by ethnic

hypersexuality. Although their performance as chongas received a wide audience the connection that was established between them and "real" chongas may have already positioned them as unfeasible products for the teen/tween media enterprise. Unfortunately for aspiring and talented Latina young women such as Davila and Di Lorenzo, Latina girls can only fit a narrow range of roles, ranging from the marginalized excess of chonga girls, to the dramatic dorkiness of Ugly Betty and the new normative "cool" of emerging Latina stars like Selena Gomez.

Selena Gomez is a young pop music performer and actress who rose to fame through her leading role in the Disney Channel television series *Wizards of Waverly Place*. She was named after the Chicana singer-songwriter Selena, her identity fused with the hope for Latina iconicity and crossover into the mainstream. Although Selena Gomez's character, Alex, on *Wizards of Waverly Place* is Latina she often downplays her heritage and finds it embarrassing. Her embodiment on the show and in media appearances is not ethnically marked. Her tall, thin frame often sports trendy and casual wear that is popular with other mainstream performers like the Caucasian singer/actress Miley Cyrus. Selena Gomez is the normative antithesis to the ethnically marked hypersexual embodiment of chonga girls.

In "This Tween Bridge over My Latina Back: The U.S. Mainstream Negotiates Ethnicity," Valdivia discusses the representational politics of mass-market figures and products such as Selena Gomez and Bratz dolls. In a cultural industry that is targeting the growing population of Latin@s in the U.S. with aggressive marketing tactics, the figure of the light-skinned Latina girl has emerged as a vehicle for attracting audiences and consumers. Valdivia, drawing from the pioneering work of women of color feminists such as Gloria Anzaldúa, argues that light skinned Latin@s are serving as viable marketing products as they do not embody the threat of difference and political power of African Americans. She states, "The bridge metaphor remains useful in this cultural moment. In all of these sites of contemporary mainstream tween girl culture the identifiable and the ambiguous Latina serves as a bridge between whiteness and difference."<sup>18</sup>

### The Chonga as Ethnic Spectacle

The excessive figure of the chonga is often framed as the antithesis of the respectability and class that has historically marked white and light Latina femininity. The manner in which the chonga typifies a sexualized hyperethnicity was staged on the *Cristina* talk show episode on chongas that aired on the Spanish-language network Univision in 2009, in which chongas were literally posed against whiteness. The talk show host herself, who critiqued the style of the

chonga girls she invited on the show embodied the social aspirations of normative white Latinidad with her straightened, bleached blonde hair and Chanel inspired jacket. Each self-proclaimed chonga girl on the panel was seated next to a light-skinned Latina in modest, contemporary trendy dress (printed feminine dresses, simple jewelry, straightened hair) that served as her opposite. The chongas were asked questions that prompted them to defend their mode of dress and the “normal” Latinas barraged the girls with negative comments while they pontificated about feminine class, dress, and style. The overall aim of the show was to laugh at the chonga girls and advise them to change their style so that they would not look ridiculous.

A segment of the episode featured a “chonga makeover” in which queer, light-skinned celebrity stylist Rodner Figueroa stated that he was going to transform a “pretty” woman into an “ugly” woman by turning a well-dressed audience member into a chonga. Through the makeover the homonormative Latino stylist sustains heteronormativity and racial/ethnic hierarchies by disciplining the bodies of chonga girls and “scaring” them into abandoning their “ugly,” excessive look.<sup>19</sup>

In the episode a young, self-proclaimed chonga named Elizabeth who was on the panel claimed to have been the inspiration for the *Chongalicious* video. She wore large bright neon-colored combs in her hair, tight short shorts, a black shirt, heavy makeup, and many bangles and necklaces. In the show she was consistently called “vulgar” by a tall, thin Latina woman with a fashion model physique who had light and straightened hair. Elizabeth became increasingly agitated during the show due to the consistent negative comments directed at her and told Cristina, the celebrity stylist, and the other women on the panel and in the audience that she would continue to dress like a chonga no matter what advice they had to persuade her to the contrary. When it came time for the audience to respond to the panel Elizabeth’s mother stood in front of the microphone stand and said that she wanted to defend her daughter who is an honor roll student. Emboldened by her mother’s public statement, the young chonga girl proclaimed,

Yo puedo salir ahora vestida así porque yo tengo el balance académico y social que puedo vestirme como yo quiero. Lo que tengo aquí no me lo quita nadie.

I can go out right now dressed like this because I have the academic and social balance that I can dress the way I want. What I have here (pointing to her brain) no one can take away from me.

Here the chonga body talks back and queers dichotomies between sexualized self-presentation and academic performance, feminized grooming practices and self esteem.

The chonga as a marker of racial/ethnic difference was also staged in a follow-up video by Davila and Di Lorenzo that was posted on YouTube in 2009 titled *Chonga Ladies, Chola Ladies*. The video pays homage to their fan base and includes a montage of videos produced by girls across the country in response to *Chongalicious*. The performers follow a similar formula as in *Chongalicious* by parodying a popular song, in this instance Beyonce's hit "Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)." Davila and Di Lorenzo change the lyrics to tell the story of the chonga girls' rivalry with two "regular girls" who are also performed by Davila and DiLorenzo. The "regular girls" wear modest pastel-colored dresses and have no makeup on, which results in their skin looking lighter, making them appear less ethnically marked. In the video the chonga girls are upset that a light-skinned Latino boy wearing hip hop fashions is not paying attention to them but rather to the normal girls. The chongas make fun of the regular girls and call them "shones," a word that emerged in the Florida hip hop scene that signifies a whore. The joke of the video is that the chonga girls, who are framed as being the "real" skanky girls are negatively judging the normative "good girls," making them look ridiculous. The two sets of girls are juxtaposed to showcase their different and differently valued embodiments. The normative girls gain coveted male attention and the ethnically marked chongas are framed as stupid and desperate.

The spectacle of chonga embodiment has also been staged in the contemporary art world. The works that launched the career of Cuban-American artist Luis Gispert were a series of photographs entitled *Cheerleaders* (2000–2002). The works feature a cast of multi-racial young women donning cheerleader uniforms with hair, makeup, and accessories that reference chonga style such as large gold earrings, acrylic nails, stylized ponytails, and athletic shoes. The young women enact scenes ranging from the fantastical to the mundane such as posing in luxury vehicles or floating in air as if in a trance. The poses of the subjects often cite canonical art historical narratives such as Mary mourning the body of Jesus. The *Cheerleaders* series was most recently on view at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Miami in a critically acclaimed retrospective of Gispert's work that ran from April through June 2009.

In *Untitled (Chain Mouth, a.k.a. Muse Ho)*, a work from the series, Gispert references contemporary artist Bruce Nauman's well-known photograph *Self-Portrait as Fountain* (1967–1970). Nauman's *Self-Portrait as Fountain* is a play on art historical conventions of statuesque male nudes. Often described as a reference to Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain* of 1917, Nauman playfully conflates his body with an object by capturing himself unclothed and spewing a stream of water from his mouth. Unlike Nauman, Gispert utilizes the body a young woman to

execute the parodic gesture in *Untitled (Chain Mouth, a.k.a. Muse Ho)* instead of his own.

The description of the subject as a “ho” in the title and the manner in which her makeup, hair, and costume are styled situate her in the discourse of sexual-aesthetic excess attributed to chongas. It is worth noting that Gispert grew up in Cuban-American enclaves in Miami, where he likely encountered “chonga” discourse. Where Nauman emits a thin jet of water from his mouth in *Self-Portrait as Fountain*, the female figure in *Untitled* expels a long, thick, phallic gold chain. The sexual athleticism on display is reinforced by the cheerleader uniform, which symbolizes a “type” of girl that is usually framed as being, like the chonga, sexually available, immature, surrounded by men, and hostile toward other girls.

Most of the young woman’s body is decked in gold. The ornamentation makes her seem otherworldly and goddess-like but the tattoos that ring her arm and belly button situate her in contemporary culture. The tattoos, coupled with the frosty blue eye shadow she wears (which is considered out of step with current conventions of taste and style), further signify her as a “trashy” subject. The uniform that clothes the figure makes the quasi-mythical scene anachronistic. The lack of a contextualizing background in the photograph leaves the eye to wander ceaselessly around her body. Enticed and guided by the ornaments, the viewer, like her, is visually arrested by the body.

The green chroma-key background that frames the performances of Gispert’s cheerleaders divorces them from a social milieu and indexes them as “types” on view. *The New Times* employed a similar approach in their photographs of the *Chongalicious* performers in character, which are captured against an empty background. These images represent chongas as spectacles and stock characters.

The *Cheerleader* series, completed soon after Gispert’s graduation from Yale’s Master of Fine Arts program, were ripe for commodification by the art world. In *The Miami Herald* article, “Homecoming: Luis Gispert returns to his Miami roots as a major art world player” published on October 14, 2007, reporter Tom Austin introduces Gispert to the reader by recounting the unpredictable success of the *Cheerleader* series. Austin explains how “Gispert’s image of an airborne cheerleader was featured in the 2002 Whitney Biennial, then bought by the Whitney and used in a Biennial advertising campaign.”<sup>20</sup> The chonga images successfully “branded” Gispert as an up-and-coming artist from the city that typifies *Scarface* action and hip hop bling. He has since exhibited work at the Royal Academy of Art in London, PS1 Contemporary Art Center, and Guggenheim—Bilbao, among other prestigious venues. The appeal of the chonga-esque girl as a symbol of Miami facilitated the success of the artist,

which the city lauds in turn through the "local success story" discourse expressed in the article in order to highlight its cultural cache.

Perhaps representations of chongas are adopted when they are consumed in the context of "ghetto-fabulous" portrayals of Miami that are successfully mobilized in mainstream culture through video games such as *Grand Theft Auto: Vice City*. The pleasure garnered from the chonga's idolized visual representation, however, does not seem to be echoed in South Floridians' descriptions of her corporeal presence in their day-to-day encounters in the city, for which she is derided.

It is not my aim to frame the images in *Chongalicious* and *Cheerleaders* as "bad" representations. I am withholding such critique due to the unreliability and unknowability of representation as described by Shimizu, who holds that visual media are limited in their capacity to fully capture subjects and social experiences as the creative process involves complex negotiations of meaning making among those involved. Among other methodologies, Shimizu illustrates this unknowability and unreliability through interviews with Asian/American actresses who play stereotypical roles in works such as *Miss Saigon*. Shimizu describes how the actresses exhibit agency through making subtle changes in the narrative via their real-time performances (gestures, cadences) and illustrates how feminist Asian/American artists explore "taboo" or "non-normative perverse" roles such as "whores" and "druggies."<sup>21</sup> Shimizu's work suggests that the models in Gispert's works may have had some influence in how they were portrayed, and would further recognize that perhaps the *Cheerleader* and *Chongalicious* images could be, or have been, affirming to girls who are hailed by the chonga script.

### The Meaning(s) of "Chonga"

The emerging hypervisibility of the chonga body prompted me to develop a questionnaire regarding chongas and the *Chongalicious* video that I distributed through the Web via e-mail from my location in New Jersey to friends and family members who live in Miami. Respondents were instructed to submit completed questionnaire forms to me via e-mail. As in a snowball sample, my initial pool of subjects aided me in recruiting additional participants via e-mail, Facebook messages, and Myspace posts. For example, my brother, who at the time the study was conducted was an eighteen-year-old senior in a Miami-Dade County high school recruited fellow eighteen-year-old peers to participate through his Myspace account. In this way, the circulation of the survey paralleled that of the *Chongalicious* video.

The questionnaire posed questions concerning the provenance and meaning of the term *chonga* and the reception of the *Chongalicious* video. In addition to

those regarding demographics (gender, race, nationality, age, and South Florida neighborhood where subjects reside) it consisted of the following questions: Have you heard the term “chonga” before? Where did you hear the term first? Do you think it is an official Spanish word? Where do you think the word came from? Who uses the term? What is a chonga?<sup>22</sup> Is describing someone as a chonga positive or negative? Have you ever met anyone that describes themselves as a chonga? Have you seen the *Chongalicious* video on YouTube? How did you find out about it? Did you enjoy it? Do you think the video is a realistic representation of chongas? Do you think the video was popular?

I am approaching the responses to my questionnaire as discursive texts. In some instances, I will aggregate responses in order to highlight interesting points of consensus and divergence among the participant group; I do not intend for these figures to be interpreted as statistical data. While it is not possible to present my findings as symptomatic of how most Miamians feel about chongas or the *Chongalicious* video, they provide a window into the meanings associated with the chonga with regard to sexuality, gender, class, race, and ethnicity.

I received thirty-one responses to the *Chongalicious* questionnaire. All respondents reside in Miami-Dade County with a concentration in the middle-class neighborhoods of Westchester, South Miami, and Kendall. This may present a middle-class bias in my study that excludes poor and working-class subjects who may be labeled as chongas. However, I suggest that the responses of these middle-class South Floridians can point to how the chonga identity is perceived and constructed by the dominant culture. The majority of respondents, twenty-six, were female. Twenty-one participants identified themselves as Latina/o or as a specific nationality (Colombian, Dominican, etc.); over half of these specified Cuban descent. Two respondents identified as African American. Twenty-five respondents were between the ages of eighteen to twenty-four, the eldest respondent in the sample was thirty-four years of age (eighteen years of age being the youngest).

When asked where they first heard the term, twenty respondents stated they encountered it in school, mostly in middle school/junior high. The remainder recalled learning it from friends or public discourse in Miami. The connection articulated between exposure to the word “chonga” and the middle school setting points to the negotiation of identity that often takes place in adolescence. Molding an identity can sometimes employ a negative process of defining oneself via the recognition of who one is *not*.<sup>23</sup> Respondents of the chonga questionnaire described how the function of the term was to identify, exclude, and deride “bad” subjects.

Most participants stated that the term is slang, not “official” Spanish. Connections to other words were proposed in response to the question regarding

the provenance of "chonga," among them associations to the Chicana girls known as cholas. Links of the term to Afro-Cuban spiritual practices were also forged. One respondent posited that it could have derived from the syncretic religion Santería. Another more specifically offered that the root of the word "chonga" might be found in *Chango*, the name of a male Yoruba deity whose Santería icon is the Catholic Saint Barbara. These racial associations suggest the status of the chonga as an "other" Cuban-American identity that is often disavowed by elite Cubans through its connection to marginalized subjects such as Afro-Cubans and African Americans via the chonga's adoption of hip hop culture.<sup>24</sup>

Ten respondents offered that "everyone" uses the term, followed by six who stated that "chonga" primarily circulates in teenage circles. Other groups noted for use of the term included Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and people "under 40." An additional six participants suggested that "chonga" circulates among homosocial groups of women in the antagonistic mode of drawing attention to and mocking the girl identified as such ("Girls that hate on each other," "Mainly females describing other females," "Everyone who wants to offend someone else, mainly a girl"). Several respondents noted that the word is used by people who do not identify as chongas, or who were chongas prior to being "preppy." Beyond its classed Caucasian connotations, "preppy" in Miami denotes an upper-class, non-Black Latina/o that lives in an exclusive area of Miami such as Coral Gables.

Twenty-four out of thirty-one respondents stated that describing someone as a chonga is negative, with others proposing that it is context-specific. One respondent suggested that the chonga's negative connotation is due to the fact that it "melds all the bad Hispanic stereotypes into one word." For the most part, participants advanced that the detrimental quality of the word stems from its deriding and exclusionary function.

Eighteen respondents stated that they have encountered individuals who describe themselves as chongas. Several indicated that this was representative of a phase in their own life or that of a friend. In addressing the question, "Have you ever met anyone who describes themselves as a chonga?" one subject responded, "Yes, myself, in the mirror along with all of my adolescent friends." An eighteen-year-old subject wrote, "My best friend, lol, she used to be the biggest chonga till she met me and my friends."<sup>25</sup> The portrayal of the chonga as juvenile may stem from the view that it is an identity that is passed through and sheds with maturity and social/class mobility.

Subjects who claimed they had not encountered individuals who identified as chongas made sweeping and assertive proclamations such as "no chonga admits to being a chonga" and "no [I have not met someone who describes

themselves as a chonga]...but sadly they are blinded," one even went as far as declaring "If I did [encounter a self-described chonga] I'd slap them." The majority of respondents attributed little to be desired in the chonga role. She is framed as an identity antithetical to the efforts made by second- and third-generation Latina/o youth to assimilate into American culture. Like an embarrassing cousin one is reluctant to introduce to friends, the chonga is not a figure to be associated with, as she loudly speaks her broken English and wears all the "right" commodity items (jewelry, trendy clothes) the wrong way. The deployment of the term, and the attendant laughter it induces, can enable Latina/o teens to distance themselves from her hypersexual, hyperethnic, and under-class inscription.

The question that generated the most lengthy responses was: "What is a chonga?" Twenty-nine of thirty-one participants provided vividly detailed descriptions of a young urban female's style of dress. She was described as wearing ill-fitting clothes that were either too baggy or too tight, applying an excessive amount of gel to her hair, donning large gold hoop earrings engraved with her name in cursive lettering, using heavy eye and lip liner, and gaudy amounts of jewelry. Chongas were largely described as Latinas. Several respondents proposed that there are also white chongas (a pop culture figure like Fergie could fit into this framework due to her mode of dress). Study subjects situated chongas in middle- and lower-class areas of Miami-Dade County such as Hialeah, Sweetwater, Westchester, Cutler Ridge, and Kendall. Her class status was also articulated through descriptions of where and what she consumes. Respondents stated that they eat large amounts of fast food and shop at flea markets, U.S. Tops, and D'or, establishments that sell juniors clothing at bargain prices. The hypersexuality of the chonga was indexed by references to her "skimpy" or "hoochie" style of dress and assertions that "they aren't home bodies" and "chill with a lot of guys."

She was additionally portrayed as "reffy," a term used in Miami to denote recent refugees (recall Munoz's description of the hyperethnic chusma). The chonga was framed by some as being "loud," "crass," and able to master neither English nor Spanish, thus speaking "Spanglish." Other respondents described chongas as "un-intellectual" and apathetic about gaining skills and bettering themselves through education. The characteristics attributed to chongas are tinged with failure. She fails at acculturating, not being able to speak English "correctly" or without an accent. Her flaunting visibility is perceived as foolish, as "they are not aware of how ridiculous they look in public." She also falls short of convincingly projecting a hip hop-inspired attitude of toughness, as one respondent stated, she is a "girl that's fake and acts like she's from the ghetto" or a "wannabe ghetto Hispanic chick" who "tries to talk like they're

from New York but never quite achieves the tone." Davila and Di Lorezno articulate the chonga's aspirations for thugdom in the *Chongalicious* lyric, "g-to the h-to the-e-t-t-o girl you ghetto."

The recurring characteristics of the chonga as un-intellectual, hypersexual, and of lower class stems from stereotypical views regarding urban girls of color that have been circulating in the dominant culture and elite circles of Latinas/os for decades.<sup>26</sup> *The New Times* story on the *Chongalicious* video has reinforced this view. Reporter Tamara Lush makes efforts to articulate to the reader how *unlike* chongas Davila and Di Lorenzo *really* are. Lush notes,

In character, they are brash, sexy, bold creatures. They seem self-assured rather than the moody, curious girls they really are...They have noticed that guys like them better as chongas, a fact that makes them more than a little depressed. Both girls get plenty of looks from guys as they walk down the street in their chonga wear—but not, for example, when they are sitting in their AP English class, wearing sweatshirts, jeans, and glasses.<sup>27</sup>

Lush continually makes references to the fact that the girls reside in Aventura in her report, an area of Miami-Dade County replete with "luxury" high-rise condominium developments and a large mall with exclusive stores and boutiques. When describing how the girls came up with the idea for the video she recounts the story of how they conversed about the "chonga-like" outfits worn by girls in the school cafeteria and secures this admission from Davila, "We were kinda making fun of them."<sup>28</sup> In Lush's framework, the roles of chonga and intelligent young woman are mutually exclusive. Davila and Di Lorenzo are applauded for their clever parody and are protected from the negative ramifications of embodying the sexual-aesthetic excess of the chonga role through allusions to their intelligence, modest form of dress, and upper-class lifestyle.

Twenty-four respondents reported they viewed *Chongalicious* on YouTube. Ten noted that they heard about it from friends. The remainder learned of it through the radio (with some specifying the Power 96 radio station), TV, and the Web, particularly Myspace comments and Live Journal entries. When asked if they enjoyed their viewing twenty subjects stated that they had, overwhelmingly, because it made them laugh. Those who did not enjoy the video found it "annoying," "stupid," and a "waste of time." Fourteen subjects suggested that the video was a realistic depiction of chongas, the remaining participants stated that it was "exaggerated." Most participants (twenty-two) proposed that the video was popular. The most recurrent reasons provided for its positive reception were its accuracy of representation and reflection of Miami culture. One subject explained that the girls were glorified "as the true embodiment of the Female Miami Image."

*The New Times* reporter's attempts to normalize the creators of *Chongalicious* did not hinder the circulation of negative responses to the story. In a thread on the *New Times Chongalicious* article on the blog site *Miaminights*, a user by the name of "Laura" posted a comment on June 15, 2007 that read,

I grew up with females like this and it's gross...how can people admire this shit? This makes me want to move away from here so bad. They're your stereotypical ghetto Hispanics who cause uproar for attention. They call themselves "Chongas", I call them ignorant.<sup>29</sup>

The blogger's intense reaction points to the chonga's intimate connection to Miami as place, as she describes how the sensation generated by *Chongalicious* makes her want to relocate. If the chonga is to be so disavowed, why did many other South Floridians celebrate and enjoy their performance? In "Exploring Dora: Re-embodied Latinidad on the Web," a study on the discourse surrounding the image of the Latina Nickelodeon cartoon character Dora the Explorer, communications scholars Susan J. Harewood and Angharad N. Valdivia state:

We argue that, despite the rhetoric of "disembodiedness" that often accompanies the Web, its representations, and its participants, the body follows the narrative, repeatedly reinserting itself as a way of enforcing and policing boundaries about ethnicity and mainstream culture. Dora reminds us of the impossibility of leaving the body behind in any kind of form of popular culture because people are always bringing the body back into discussion and embodying the representational, which itself embodies dominant tropes of ethnicity.<sup>30</sup>

Drawing from this understanding, I posit that the video generated pleasure in viewers through the *recognition* enabled by Davila and Di Lorenzo's performance. Viewers were reminded of the embodied young women they encounter in their everyday lives and by extension, Miami as place. The chonga exemplifies Miami the way that "booty" music by acts like 2 Live Crew typified the city in the 1990s. Like chongas, the controversial group did not project normative bourgeois roles. The hedonistic nature of their music spoke to the materialistic identity of the city as a tropical playground for the rich and famous that has been celebrated by popular performers such as Pit Bull, Will Smith, and P. Diddy. However, where 2 Live Crew provided a cultural space for men and women to openly engage in sexual discourse, the chonga's sexuality is framed as immature and humorous. She succeeds only in arousing laughter.

### Conclusion

What does the laughter toward the chonga girl perform? I suggest that the mockery of the chonga girl body aims to manage, contain, and police her flamboyant difference from norms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and "proper" sexual behavior for girls, making her a queering figure that embodies and per-

forms sexual-aesthetic excess. It is often assumed that girls who dress in sexy clothing and wear heavy makeup have low self-esteem and are in search of male attention, however, I would argue that although many girls experiment with chonga-esque styles as they view themselves through an increasingly sexualized lens in adolescence, the style has more to do with ethnicity and girl culture than boys or sex. As sociologist Julie Bettie observes in her ethnographic study of Mexican American girls in a California high school who employed the "chola" style in middle school before adopting a less stylized, yet still ethnically and sexually marked mode of dress,

Las chicas' [a term the girls used as self-referents] gender performance and girl culture worked, whether by intent or not, as a strategy to reject the prep version of schooling but, despite appearances, were not necessarily designed to culminate in a heterosexual relationship. Some of the girls whose feminine performance appeared the most sexualized were actually the least interested in heterosexual relations, marriage, or children. Despite what appeared to be an obsession with heterosexual romance, a "men are dogs" theme was prevalent among them. They knew men could not be counted on to support them and any children they might have, and they desired economic independence. And so their girl culture was less often about boys at all than about sharing in rituals of traditional femininity as a kind of friendship bonding among girls.<sup>31</sup>

I am concerned with how the arguments in scholarship on girls of color such as the *Urban Girls* anthologies place emphasis on how they *resist* stereotypes. My position does not hold that these girls are indeed just like the harmful negative typologies that circulate about them. Yet I am loathe to stress their subversion and resistance as if they should be ashamed of being loud, sexual, aggressive, and lower/working class, if that is how they view themselves. I have used works like the *Urban Girls* anthologies as resources and recognize that they address issues that the predominant girls' studies discourses on white, middle-class subjects do not. However, girls' scholars should consider the question of who becomes excluded in frameworks regarding healthy girlhood and stereotype resistance.

I have observed that most popular/academic books on "troubled" girls usually have images of sexualized, sullen, or angry white young women on their covers.<sup>32</sup> Contrastingly, yet equally problematic, the covers of the *Urban Girls* anthologies present images of girls that have literally been "white-washed." The cover of the first anthology edited by Bonnie J. Ross Leadbeater and Niobe Way in 1998 features a young African American girl dressed in white and smiling as she is bathed in sunlight. In *Urban Girls Revisited*, edited by Ross Leadbeater and Way in 2007, a group of girls of color wearing white shirts pose together and smile. The design of the cover has altered the photograph so that it is tinged with a grainy light lavender color. These images reinforce notions of "good" and "bad" girls. White girls are framed as needing a "rescue" that will

return them to normalized bourgeois subjectivity as they are starting to engage in sexual and aggressive behavior due to the “toxic” gendered representations found in popular culture. Girls of color, who have been historically characterized as hypersexual in the dominant culture, are framed as being in need of an image makeover in order to be perceived as “good” subjects who are unlike stereotypes. Would a book on girls’ empowerment be marketable if it had a picture of a chonga-esque girl on its cover? Or would her image work best in selling books on “troubled” girls? What is the message we send to girls who do not conform to normative bourgeois conventions of dress and behavior? Shimizu’s project calls on feminist and critical race scholars to complicate approaches to stereotype analysis as many critiques of sexual representations of women can “unconsciously get caught up in an agenda of moralism and propriety.”<sup>33</sup> I call for a shift away from stereotype critiques of girls’ representations that generate moral panics toward reflexive critical analysis that is framed by the sexual politics of queer theory and examines how embodiment and representation affect girls’ lives on the ground.

*This chapter is dedicated to Paola Cordoba, a chonga girl whose makeshift memorial I pass regularly as I walk through the parking lot of the Museum of Contemporary Art where I work as a youth educator. She was killed in a fight with another young woman outside of a bar in North Miami, Florida that is in close proximity to the museum. Real chonga girls live real lives...Latin@ existence.*

#### Notes

1. Celine Parrenas Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian/American Women on Screen and Scene* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 13.
2. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage, 1978); Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 2002); Bernadette Marie Calafell and Fernando P. Delgado, “Reading Latina/o Images: Interrogating *Americanos*,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 21, no. 1 (2004): 1–21.
3. Frances R. Aparicio and Susana Chavez-Silverman, *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College and University Press of New England, 1997); Myra Mendible, ed., *From Bananas to Buttocks: The Latina Body in Popular Film and Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).
4. Isabel Molina Guzman and Angharad N. Valdivia, “Brain, Brow, and Booty: Latina Iconicity in U.S. Popular Culture,” *The Communication Review* 7 (2004): 205–21.
5. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1977).
6. Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality*, 5.
7. *Ibid.*, 21.

8. Magdalena Barrera, "Hottentot 2000: Jennifer Lopez and Her Butt," in *Sexualities in History: A Reader*, eds. Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay (New York and London: Routledge, 2002); Mendible, *From Bananas*, 2007.
9. Angharad N. Valdivia, "This Tween Bridge over My Latina Back: The U.S. Mainstream Negotiates Ethnicity," in *Mediated Girlhoods: Explorations of Girls' Media Culture*, ed. Mary Celeste Kearney (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 94.
10. Laura M. Ahearn, "Language and Agency," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 109–37, 112.
11. Jose Esteban Munoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 182.
12. Rosa Linda Fregoso, "Re-Imagining Chicana Urban Identities in the Public Sphere, *Cool Chuca Style*," in *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State*, eds. Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcon, and Minoia Moallem (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 78.
13. The *Miami New Times* reported that Davila is of Cuban-Bulgarian heritage and Laura Di Lorenzo of Venezuelan-Italian descent. Tamara Lush, "Chongas! Two Aventura Girls' YouTube Sensation is Only the Beginning," *Miami New Times* 22, no. 22 (June 14–20, 2007), 22.
14. "Besos" is Spanish for kisses.
15. "Bling" is a hip hop term for jewelry.
16. Sarah Banet-Weiser, "Branding the Post-Feminist Self: Girls' Video Production and YouTube," in *Mediated Girlhoods: New Explorations of Girls' Media Culture*, ed. Mary Celeste Kearney (New York Peter Lang, 2011), 284.
17. <http://www.unoentertainment.com>.
18. Valdivia, "This Tween Bridge," 106.
19. Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003).
20. "Homecoming: Luis Gispert Returns to His Miami Roots as a Major Art World Player," *The Miami Herald* (October 14, 2007).
21. *Ibid.*, 21.
22. I did not want to present my subjects with the assumption that a chonga is a person in this question.
23. Julie Bettie, *Women Without Class: Girls, Race, and Identity* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2003); C. J. Pascoe, *Dude You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School* (Berkeley, CA and London: University of California Press, 2007).
24. Miguel A. De La Torre, "Ochun: (N)either the (M)other of All Cubans (n)orthe Bleached Virgin," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 69, no. 4 (2001): 837–61.
25. "Lol" is an acronym for "laugh out loud" used in internet chat applications.
26. Jill McLean Taylor, Carmen N. Veloria, and Martina C. Verba, "Latina Girl: 'We're Like Sisters—Most Times!'" in *Urban Girls Revisited: Building Strengths*, eds. Bonnie J. Ross Leadbeater and Niobe Way (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007).
27. *Ibid.*, 30–1.
28. *Ibid.*, 24.
29. <http://www.miaminights.com/miami-new-times-dissects-the-chonga-trend-4242.phtml>

30. Susan J. Harewood and Angharad N. Valdivia, "Exploring Dora: Re-embodied Latinidad on the Web," in *Girl Wide Web: Girls, the Internet, and the Negotiation of Identity*, ed. Sharon R. Mazzarella (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2005), 86.
31. Bettie, *Women without Class*, 64.
32. Examples include Sharon Lamb and Lyn Mikel Brown, *Packaging Girlhood* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006); Rachel Simmons, *Odd Girl Out: The Hidden Culture of Aggression in Girls* (Orlando: Harcourt, 2003); James Garbarino, *See Jane Hit: Why Girls are Growing More Violent and What We Can Do About It* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006); and eds. Martha Putallaz and Karen L. Beirman, *Aggression, Antisocial Behavior, and Violence among Girls* (New York: Guilford Press, 2004).
33. Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality*, 18.

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